601 35. tarũtarosu : "old brother-in-law" (tarũte [b 1/2] equals asũkosu [a 1/2]);

36. tuĩrarosu : "old husband" (ũĩte [b 1/2] equals ouẽnsaesu [a 1/2]);

37. ianẽrosu : ?

38. asoũkerosu : "old grandfather" or "father-in-law";

[25] 39. takaʔkenosu cited with the commentary : "When the
●[764] takaʔkenosu dies, the alõnsu cut their hair, but not the akenãnosu."

Finally, two terms of relationship express the relations coming from "oblique" marriages and from the division of generations into "elders" and "younger":

40. ajũnkedisu;

41. (t)ãdirikisu.

A man calls the akenanosu of his mother ajũnkedisu (while the term asoũnosu is generally—but not always—reserved for the alõnsu); one and the other are, of course, the asũkosu of his father. The same individual is then called "father-in-law" (asoũnosu) or "husband" (ouẽnsaesu) by the sister of the subject considered, or, if she is married, ajũnkedisu also, the husband then calling him "father" (ahuĩnosu). One sees then that the ajũnkedisu is a man whose daughter or wife I (masculine subject) marry, and whose son my sister marries, if she does not marry the man himself. Thus it is explained that the ajũnkedisu is asũkosu or asoũnosu, to my brother; asũkosu or asineẽru, to my father; akenãnosu or asineẽru, to my mother; ouẽnsaesu or asoũnosu, to my sister; ahuĩnosu, to my wife.

On the other hand, a man calls a woman (t)ãdirikisu who can be arĩndesu or asintu of his father, aseẽtasu or asĩntu of his mother, aseẽtasu or aʔẽnosu of his sister, aekẽnosu of his wife. She is then a woman whom I marry or whose daughter I marry. A woman, in her turn, calls another woman (t)ãdirikisu who is aʔkẽndesu of her husband, that is, a woman whose brother or son she marries.

601 582 One sees that these two names bestow two privileges, or opens a double right: that of the marriage of the mother's brother (and, theoretically, of the father's brother) with his niece; a right belonging essentially to the elder brother; and of the marriage of the sister's son (brother's son) with his aunt. This rule, or rather this possibility is explained on the one hand by the tendency of the Nambikwara towards polygamy, on the other hand, by the scarcity (moreover consecutive) of women. We shall study examples in an instant.

684 626 [182] conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing equivalences of value.

●764 184 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriuaerekititu, a1) in a circular ditch (sinitakurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in [768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. auregande aŝunikere kadukarage iaudrige ende ende ende inare inaretaire ŝinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aoʔenikere, b1) in a prone position (iotarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doŝore dutige adrede autadatige audotahãmdige audotaãmde odenehẽire odunhinde njaotumnie narainidande naraidutige aiiredugejottige den den den nagiaode aire dugiotige tiatugiotige (b1)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
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tainship is not hereditary; the chief, when old or sick, designates his successor from the ablest men of the group. The chief's authority is slight; it depends wholly on the good will of the family heads. 622

Relations between neighboring bands are inspired both by fear and by the desire to exchange goods. Warfare, therefore, is closely connected with barter. Groups not acquainted with each other use ritual speech when they meet. 619 438

Before starting a war expedition, a divinatory rite is performed with special songs and dances. An arrow is hidden by the shaman, the outcome of the expedition being pressaged by its appearance the following day. 721 787

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—After the delivery of a child, the placenta is buried in the bush and both parents are subjected to rigid prohibitions concerning food, the use of ornaments, and social contacts. 844

Puberty.—The initiation rite for young men consists of piercing their lips and nose and giving them their adult personal name. At her first menstruation, a girl is isolated for several months in a special shelter outside the village, where she is given ritual food by her mother. At the end of the rite, she takes a long bath in the river; this also constitutes the first step of the marriage ceremony. 881 [304]

Both cross-cousin and avuncular marriages (see p. 367), are often planned by parents for their infant children. Marriage is celebrated by festivals, banquets, and dances. The union is pronounced by the chief. Fish and fishing are important both before and during the ceremony. 584 585

Separation is frequent, the chief cause being that the man seeks a younger and prettier woman. There is no social sanction of adultery, except that the seducer is advised by his companion to go away for a while so as to avoid the husband's revenge. A murderer also flees vengeance. 586 684 682

Death.—Some groups of *Nambicuara* bury their dead in a circular pit, the corpse being placed in a crouching position. Others leave the corpse to decompose in an elongated ditch and later wash the bones in the river, put them in a basket, and bury them in the village, which is then abandoned. Weapons, implements, adornments, and other property of the deceased are destroyed, but his garden—if he owned one—is abandoned only for a few months. Later anybody may cultivate it. 764

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Most *Nambicuara* groups are completely ignorant of drawing, although some groups decorate calabashes with dots and straight and sinuous lines. These are conventionalized reproductions of realistic designs found among other groups. 531

648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

797 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Wakítisu band are considered Christians. When Marciano died [764] a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilisados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

The chief admon-
ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakítisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement. Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members. At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother. The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience. The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

According to the Wakítisu the spirits are the source of all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. The ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*), bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. In addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lálukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky. Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínuwa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

[p. 99(B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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BURIAL

763 When it is seen that a person is about to die the women wail for a while and then they all turn their backs to the dying person and begin to divide up his belongings. The corpse is buried
● 764 in a grave dug in the village or camp site. The men loosen the soil with sticks and scoop out the soil with gourds until a roughly rectangular grave about 5 feet deep is dug. The men who lower the body into the grave take three balls of soil from the bottom of the grave with which they rub their legs and backs. A man's decorations are placed in the grave with him. In the case of a woman, two or three gourds are placed at her feet. The grave is then covered. A man's bow and arrows are broken and left on the grave. The rest of his belongings are burnt nearby and the people go on a hunt for a few days. A bit of buriti fiber is left to mark the grave of a boy, although nothing appears to be left over the grave of a woman or a girl.

775 The ghost remains around the grave for several days and then goes to the sacred mountain where all the ghosts live. In the land of the dead the ghosts have fine necklaces, and nose feathers, and are always painted with urucú. But they do not wish to be forgotten and want the living to give them food. The Nambicuara do not fear ghosts, and like to have them participate in their ceremonies.

764 Two days before we left Utiarity, Marciano died. He was one of our best informants, the least morose and most helpful. A week earlier he caught cold which turned into pneumonia. It was pitiful to watch this naked man lying in the dirt beside a fire slowly gasping out his life. Once in a while he became conscious and tried to sing, calling the spirits to help him. About 9:30 that night he died. As there is something symbolic in his death and burial I would like to end this account of the Nambicuara with an entry from my diary dated July 30, 1949.

This morning we all went to the burial, the Jesuit priests, the Protestant missionaries, some of the Brasilians, and Kaore and I. We dug a grave at an old Nambicuara camp site about a half a mile from Utiarity. As we walked along the telegraph line bearing Marciano's body the sabiá were singing and the air was full of the sweet odor of the timbó vine. Wrapped in a ragged blanket Marciano was lowered into his grave along with his

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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764 necklace and a few rusty cans, the grave was covered, and there we left him a few feet from the grave of his first wife who had died in the measles epidemic four years before. Then Julio, the chief, told all his people to gather around the grave and as he walked around it he told Marciano that here he had water and sunshine, and that after a few days he would be with the ancestors around

[p. 105 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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764 the stone mountain at Juruena. The white men had not a word to say. It seemed that we were not burying just an Indian but a race, older and more simple in its way of life than its Arawak- and Carib-speaking neighbors. And the telegraph line beneath which Marciano rests is the symbol of all those forces which destroyed him and are slowly destroying his brothers.

542 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and
[837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems
302 sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in
201 their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétü!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçú and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once
[771] when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--
the Cocoza in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.